

A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
EARL of CLARENDON'S
Settlement and Sale of
IRELAND.

Whereby the Just *English* Adventurer is much prejudiced, the Ancient Proprietor destroyed, and Publick Faith violated; to the great discredit of the *English* Church and Government, (if not recalled and made void) as being against the Principles of Christianity, and true Protestantcy.

Written in a Letter by a Gentleman in the Country,
to a Nobleman at Court.

L O V A I N,
Printed in the Year MDC LX VIII.
of 4 6

Harvard College Library
Cambridge, Mass.
August 8, 1955



A LETTER.

My LORD,



Have, in obedience to your Lordships Commands, set down in brief, the sad and deplorable state of the *Irish* Nation, and the apparent Injustice, and inequality used in the present Settlement of that Kingdom; which, in my opinion, (as I formerly told your Lordship) hath chiefly occasioned the heavy Judgments of God, which our *English* Nation hath sensibly felt these two years last past, and it is to be feared, our Sufferings are not yet at an end; if we do not take a speedy course to humble our selves, and appease the wrath of his Divine Majesty, who may punish us farther, with as much Justice, as we have (contrary to all Justice) hitherto oppressed the *Irish*.

It cannot be denied, but that the Roman Catholicks of *Ireland* have infinitely suffered, during the late usurped Governments; but they have done it cheerfully, and perhaps not without some comfort; having had all that time, as Companions in Suffering, not only some of the Nobility and Gentry of *England* and *Scotland*, but the King himself, and all the Royal Family; *Ferre quam Sortem patiuntur omnes, Nemorecusat*. But now, since his Majesties happy Restauration, and during the universal Jubilee of Joy over all the *Brittish* Monarchy, that the *Irish* alone should be forced to mourn, being condemned to a perpetual Sufferance, far surpassing those they formerly endured under the Government of *Cromwel*; is a Calamity rather to be deplored than exprest. And yet I find very few of our Nation any way touched with a compassion of the miseries sustained by those their Neighbours, and that the *Irish* are not only vigorously persecuted by their Constant enemies, but that they are wholly abandoned by their former Friends (I mean their fellow-sufferers for the same Cause) who do not now concern themselves in their Sufferings. This consideration alone, together with the zeal I have always had for Justice, and the commiseration which Nature imprints in every man, are the motives (next to your Lordships commands) which induce me to undertake this subject. I shall therefore, by setting down matter of fact, and by examining the title of the present possessours, as also of the antient proprietours, discover the wicked artifices hitherto practised, to deprive the *Irish* Nation, not only of the benefit of his Majesties Mercies, but also of his Justice.

Brogkil and *Coot* having by several Emissaries sent into *England*, felt the pulse of the *English* Nation, and finding the people generally inclined to concur with the loyal and successful endeavours of the Lord General *Monk*, in order

order to the Restauration of his Sacred Majesty, convo-
 qued a convention in *Dublin*, of persons newly interess'd
 in that Kingdom, to consult upon the best and safest
 course that might be taken to prevent the restoring of
 the *Irish* Cavaliers to those estates which the Con-
 ventionists and their partizans enjoyed by the Usurpers
 bounty, and which they had great reason to believe,
 would be immediately restored to the ancient proprie-
 tours upon his Majesties re-establishment. In order to
 this resolution, it was agreed upon, that all the Gentle-
 men of *Ireland* should be committed to close prison, to
 render them incapable of contributing to his Majesties
 Restauration, in case his Majesty should choose to pursue
 his Royal Right by dint of Sword, rather than to conde-
 scend to such disadvantageous conditions, as the Con-
 ventionists did hope, and were fully perswaded would
 be impoted upon him by the Parliament of *England*. It
 was also concluded, that a man of parts and Faction
 among the Presbyterian party, should be employed
 into *England*, to prepossess the people there, with the
 dangers and inconveniencies which the restoring of the
Irish Natives to their ancient Estates, would infallibly
 bring upon the new *English* interest in that Kingdom.
 In pursuance to these resolutions, all the Prisons in *Ire-
 land* were filled with the Nobility and Gentry of that
 Nation, whom no imbecillity of age, nor indisposition
 of body could excuse, nor any offered security answer
 for: Sir *John Clowrthy*, a man famous for plundering
Somerset House, murdering the Kings Subjects, and
 committing many other Treasons and horrid Crimes,
 was dispatched into *England*. This person, who was
 always accounted as violent against the *Irish*, as he was
 known to be seditious, and ill-affected to Monarchy; no
 sooner arrived in *London*, than he filled the peoples ears

with such dreadful stories of a new Insurrection in *Ireland*, (whereof counterfeited Letters were read on the Exchange, and several copies dispersed over all the corners of the City) that his Majesty was scarce warm in his Fathers Throne, when both Houses of Parliament (grounding their belief on *Clotworthy's* assertion) presented unto him a Proclamation, to be signed against the *Irish* Papists; who were said to be actually in Rebellion, murdering his Majesties Protestant Subjects, violently intruding into other mens possessions, with many other Characters of Infamy, rendring them odious to all Nations. This Proclamation was published in *London*, on the third day of *June* 1660. notwithstanding that it was very well known at that time, that there was not an *Irish* man in arms in any part of *Ireland*.

Clotworthy, encouraged with the good success of his first essay, and strengthened by a new landed recruit of Convention Agents (among whom *Brogkil* himself made one) having observed that a general Act of Indemnity was ready to be passed to all his Majesties Subjects, and fearing that the *Irish* (if concluded therein) would be consequently restorable to their estates; presented a *Proviso* against them, to be inserted in that Act; but this *Proviso* seemed so unreasonable to both Houses (especially after that his Majesty had made a speech to them for comprehending the *Irish* in his general and Gracious Pardon) that they were fully resolved to extend the Act of Oblivion to the *Irish* Papists, as well as to the rest of his Majesties Subjects. But the Conventionists, after some conference with the * Duke of *Ormond*, (to

* The Duke of *Ormond* hath added as much to his own ancient estate, by the new settlement of *Ireland*, as would have satisfied all the claims of the just Adventurers, And *Anglesey* and *Kingston* little less.

whom,

whom, as 'tis said, (with what truth I know not) they offer'd that great Estate, and vast summs of money which are conferred upon him by the Acts of Settlement) wrought so upon his Grace, that in the House of Lords he made a speech against comprehending the *Irish* Papists in the Act of Oblivion. saying, that the King had taken that matter into his own hands, notwithstanding that his Majesty had but few dayes before clearly declared himself for their being comprehended in his general Pardon ; so that it was carryed against them, to the great astonishment of all persons of honour and conscience, that were informed of the corrupt wayes whereby they were excluded.

Neither, my Lord, was the exclusion of the *Irish* out of the Act of Oblivion, so satisfactory to the Convention Agents, if all other passages to his Majesties further graces and favours were not shut up against them: and in order thereunto, they prevailed with the first Minister of State (whom they had gained to their side, by what coloured Arguments he knows best himself) to recall the Commission of Lord Deputy, which was formerly given to the Lord *Roberts*, a person of known Honour and Integrity; the Conventionists having observed that his Lordship was not to be won, upon any account to forward their design. This grand obstacle being removed out of the way, *Broughil, Anglesey, Clorworthy*, and *Mervin*, (with the assistance of *Steel, Roberts*, and *Petis*) after three months labour, brought forth that monstrous issue of their brain, which was exposed to the world under the name & title of *His Majesties most Gracious Declaration for the Settlement of Ireland*. This was their Master-piece. and hath been ever since the ground-work of all subsequent Acts which were established for the farther Settlement of that Nation.

The first branch of the Declaration confirms the Adventurer in his Possession, the second secures the Souldier in his Debenture, the third satisfies the 49 men, the fourth assures unto the transplanted *Irish* the Land decreed unto them in the Province of *Conaught*, and County of *Clare*; the fifth makes mention of those *Irish* Officers who served his Majesty in *Flanders*, as also the Generality of the Nation who pretend to Articles. My Lord, Is not this a blessed Declaration, which provides in so large a manner for so many different interests; A Declaration that satisfies the Natives, and yet dispossesteth none of the *Cromwellists*.

To understand it well, we must amount a little higher, and call to our remembrance how the Rump-Parliament divided the spoils of the conquered Nation, in the year 1653. Ten Counties were allotted to the Adventurers, twelve conferred on *Cromwel's* Souldiers, and three of the barren Counties given by way of charity to the transplanted *Irish*; these, by computation, make up 25 Counties, the remaining seven (for *Ireland* contains in all but 32 Counties) together with all the Cities and Corporations of that Kingdom, were reserved for the Commonwealth. Now this Declaration confirms the Adventurers, Souldiers, and transplanted *Irish* in their present possessions, and moreover, it assigns to several other uses, the seven remaining Counties, and all the great Towns of *Ireland*, which were not disposed of by the Commonwealth: one of the Counties being designed to supply the deficiency of the Adventurers Lots; another, to satisfy the Incumbrances on the Lands already laid out to Adventurers and Souldiers; the third to re-prize such as were removed from the Lord Duke of *Ormond's* Estate, and the other four Counties, with all
the

the Cities and Corporations of the whole Kingdom, (a pretty grant) being assigned to the Protestant Officers who served his Majesty in Ireland at any time before the year 1649. After this solemn division and distribution made of every house, and every Acre of Land, over all the Kingdom of Ireland, some 500 Irish Gentlemen (who served his Majesty in Flanders) are named in the Declaration, to be forthwith restored to their ancient Estates; but not, until Lands of equal value, worth and purchase, are first found out to re-prize the Adventurers, Souldiers, and the rest now in Possession; a work no more nor less feasible than the creating of another Ireland.

My Lord, this Declaration was published on the 30th of November 1660. and at the same time *Brogkil* created Earl of *Orrery*, and Sir *Charles Coote* made Earl of *Montrath*; were joyned in Commission with the Lord Chancellour *Eustace*, as his Majesties Lords Justices of that Kingdom; Sir *John Clotworthy* (who was also created Lord Viscount *Masserene*) Sir *Audly Mervin*, and some others of the Convention-Agents, stayed at Court, to draw up private instructions for the better executing his Majesties Declaration: And because Innocents, viz. such as never offended his Majesty, or his Royal Father, were the only people to be restored without previous reprisals, the Conventionists made it their grand work so to qualifie an innocent, that it should be Morally impossible to find any such in *rerum natura*, *virum innocentem quis inveniet*? Eleven qualifications were ordered for their tryal, and those so rigid and severe, that *clotworthy* and his Companions (who had the wording of them) did verily believe there could not be a man found in all Ireland that should pass untoucht through so many pikes; for

for, not only the inoffensive persons, who never took arms, who never entered into the Confederacy with the rest of their Countrymen, if they did but pay them the least contribution out of their Estates, if they did but reside in the Irish quarters, although in their own houses, not only these, I say, were declared to be no Innocents, but such as lived all the Warr time in *England*, such as were with his Majesty at *Oxford*, and served in his Army, if they received any rent from their Tenants in *Ireland*, were by virtue of one of the eleven qualifications, to be held for Nocents.

But among all the other qualifications, that of taking an *Engagement* (which was administred unto all his Majesties Subjects in the three Kingdoms) was a very Notable one ; This Engagement was forced upon the *Irish* in so high a nature, that those who would not take it, were debarred, not only from the benefit of the Law, but also exposed to an inevitable danger of death, the Souldiers of *Cromwells* Army being commanded by Publick Proclamation, to kill any man they met on the high way, who carried not a certificate about him, of having taken that Engagement : commands, which were cruelly executed on silly Pesants, who, out of ignorance, or want of care, having left their Tickets at home, were barbarously murdered by the merciless Souldiers: My Lord, it is very remarkable, that they who devised this Engagementr, who heartily subscribed unto it, and forced others to take it, shall not be questioned or held criminal ; and that those who never saw it, before it was ministred unto them, who abhorred it in their hearts, and were forced to sign it, to avoid a bloody and violent death, shall be declared *nocents*, and an irrevocable sentence of losing their

their Estates given against them, and the Estates so forfeited, to be conferred on these very persons who compelled the Proprietors to that Forfeiture. By this qualification alone, a man may judge of the rest.

To crown this grand work of Settling *Ireland*, the Conventioneists (having worded the Declaration and Instructions to their own advantage) prevailed with their great Patron, to have themselves named the only Commissioners to put in execution his Majesties Declaration for the Settlement of *Ireland*. This unusual, and perhaps never before heard of course of Justice, (one of the Parties being made Judge of the Case) appeared so ugly and terrible to the *Irish*, that many of them could hardly be perswaded to believe, that his Sacred Majesty was restored to the peaceable and free possession of his Crown and Kingdoms, seeing the very same persons who tyrannized over them during *Oliver's* Reign, were now, not only confirmed in their former charges, and advanced to places of greater trust; but also newly commissioned with an unlimited power, to give a final and decisive sentence of all the Titles and pretensions of the unfortunate Natives. This preposterous way of proceeding, having not only incensed the interested *Irish*, but also scandalized all the moderate men of *England*, another course was judged fit to be taken, less shameful in appearance, but in effect the very same: The New Court of Claims was annulled, and the Lords Justices were ordered to call a Parliament, which met on the 8th day of *May* 1661. The Lower House of this Parliament was all composed of *Cromwellists*, and but very few of the *Irish* Peers were admitted to sit in the House of Lords, under pretence of for-

mer Indictments. This Parliament made the first Act of Settlement, which they entitled, an Act for explaining his Majesties Declaration for the Settlement of Ireland. This Act decides all the doubtful expressions of the declaration in favour of the *Cromwellists*, & to the disadvantage of the Natives, it allows only a Twelve months time for the tryal of *Innocents*; but those *Irish Gentlemen* who served his Majesty abroad, together with the generality of the Nation pretending to Articles, (half a score persons only excepted, who were particularly provided for) are for ever debarred by this Act, to recover their estates without previous reprisals, which is a thing not to be had in nature.

My Lord, I cannot omit minding your Lordship of a remarkable expression in the Preface of this Act, *that the Irish Rebels were conquered by his Majesties Protestant Subjects, in his Majesties absence*. These *Irish Rebels* when they were conquered, fought under the command of the Lord Duke of *Ormond*, his Majesties Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and afterwards under the command of the Lord Marquess of *Clanricard*, his Majesties Lord Deputy for that Kingdom; and those Protestant Subjects who conquered them, were called, *Cromwel*, *Ireton*, *Jones*, *Reynolds*, *Broghil*, *Coot*, *Venables*, *Hewson*, *Axiel*, &c. who vigorously pursued the *Irish Rebels*, for no other Reason, but that they constantly denied the authority of the pretended Commonwealth, and unalterably adhered to the interest of *Charles Stewart*, (for so his Majesties now Protestant Subjects were wont, in that time of conquest, to call our Gracious Sovereign) but now a dayes they sing another note, and speak quite another language; having established for a fundamental Law, *that the Irish Rebels were conquered by his Majesties Protestant Subjects in*
his

his Majesties absence. This being pased, and the Royal assent given to it, Sir *Richard Rainsford*, and the rest of the Commissioners appointed by his Majesty to decide the claims of the *Irish*, in pursuance of this Act, landed in *Dublin*, about the of 1662. and having some time to study the Act, they plainly understood, that none of the unfortunate Natives could be restored to their estates, but the ten persons who had particular Proviso's inserted therein, and such others as would prove their innocence in open Court. The Commissioners began their first Session on the day of *February* and the Court continued until the of *August* following. During this time, the claimers of near upon a thousand *Irish* were heard, whereof the one half was declared Innocents, notwithstanding all the rigid qualifications against them. The time limited for adjudging innocents being expired, Sir *Richard Rainsford* (a most just and upright man) would proceed no farther, expecting an enlargement of time to hear out the rest, who were 7000 in number, and who had as much Reason to pretend a title to their estates, (until they were heard, and condemned) as those who were already judged; for every man is to be held innocent until he be convicted, and specially those who durst venture upon so severe a trial: for, that part of the Nation (which was involved in the War) did not pretend to innocence, but claimed the benefit of Articles. But this enlargement of time being flatly denied by the first Minister of State, the Court of Claims was at an end, the interested party made Judges by *Clarendon*, and indifferent men not admitted, and the Parliament prepared an Additional Bill of Settlement, which came into *England* in the Month of *May*, 1664.

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 the Natives
 restored, viz
 My Lord of
Antrim, Sir
Henry Oncl-
 and one more
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 In the Pro-
 vince of *Co-*
naught, but 4
 viz. the Earl
 of *Cianricard*,
 Lord of
My-yo, & coll.
John Kelly,
 and coll.
Moor.

Which the
 Natives
 call the
 Black Bill.

By this additional Act it is decreed, that no benefit of innocency, or Articles, shall be allowed from henceforth, to any of the Irish Natives. The words of the text, pag. 8. l. 22. are these; *And it is hereby declared, that no person or persons, who by the qualifications in the said former Act, hath not been adjudged innocent, shall at any time hereafter be reputed innocent, so as to claim any lands or tenements hereby vested; or be admitted to have any benefit or allowance of any future adjudications of innocence, or any benefit of Articles whatsoever.*

To save this grand breach of Publick Faith, the Law of God, and Nations, and to give some colour of Justice, to an action which is evidently repugnant to *Magna Charta*, and the Fundamental Laws of *England*, (to condemn so many thousands before they are heard) it is ordered by the same Act, that some fifty four persons of the Nobility and Gentry of *Ireland*, (who likely deserved his Majesties particular favour, and whose Names are specified in the Act) shall be restored unto their severall and respective principal Seats, and unto 2000 acres of Land thereunto adjoyning; provided alwayes, that the Adventurers, Souldiers, and 49 men who are to be removed, shall be first satisfied, by some other forfeited Lands, in equal value, worth, and purchase; The transplanted *Irish* are purposely left by this Act upon very doubtful termes, that in case of necessity (if the stock of reprizals should fall short) their present possessions might serve to re-prize the Adventurers, Souldiers, 49 men, and Grantees already removed by the restored innocents, and the ten Proviso-men in the former Act, or to be removed by the *nominees*, and some three or four persons more particularly provided for in this additional Act.

A^ct. The 49 men are expressly forbidden by this A^ct, to let or let by way of Lease, or otherwise, any part of their Lots within the walled Towns and Corporations, or at a certain distance thereunto, to any *Irish* Papists, under the penalty of loosing what is let, and forfeiting as much more. There is a general Clause in the A^ct, that all Clauses and Provisos therein contained, which admit any doubtful expression, shall be alwayes construed to the advantage and favour of the *English* Protestants, and several other Provisions are made, all tending to the designed extirpation of the Natives.

This destructive A^ct, after many long consultations, wherein the first Minister of State did alwayes employ the utmost of his uncontrouled power, to countenance the *Cromwellian* party, and the Kings Solicitor General (who had the penning of the A^ct, made use of his Rhetorick and Knowledge in the Law, to plead in their behalf, (the favour of the one being easily gained, at the rate of several vast summs of ready money, and the promise of an estate of 6000 *l.* a year for his son; and the pains of the other, being modestly rewarded by a small fee of 8000 *l. sterl.*) this A^ct, I say, so well supported, was Signed and Sealed at *Salisbury* on the 25th of *July* 1665. (notwithstanding all the opposition given thereunto) and this in a time when the hand of God visibly appeared in the great Mortality, which then began to increase in the City of *London*; and when I heard many moderate men say, *We are justly punished by God, for the injustice done to the Irish.* It is now more than two years since the A^ct went over into *Ireland*, and the 54 Nominees who were to be restored (as they verily believed) to their chief houses, and 2000 acres of land, have not yet

got, the possession of a cottage, or of one acre of ground; which agrees very well with *Ororye's* rallery lately expressed; *That it was intended by the Act, that they should be only Nominees*, nomine restorable, but not re, for that was never intended; and yet the same *Orory* assured the King, that there was a sufficient stock of reprisals to satisfy all interests.

My Lord, this is the true state, in brief, of the *Irish* Case, as to matter of Fact, since the first day of his Majesties most happy Restauration, to this instant. Let us now examin matter of Right, and see what title the severall interests obstructing the re-establishment of the *Irish* can justly pretend, to the estates of the distressed Natives. These different interests can be reduced to four principal ones; the first is that of the Adventurers, the second of the Souldiers, the third of the 49 men, and the fourth of the *Grantees*; we will begin with the Adventurers.

These are certain Inhabitants of *London* who in the year 1641. pretended to venture their monies to reduce the Rebels in *Ireland*, (but intended, as afterwards appeared, to destroy the King) upon the assurance of getting such a quantity of the Rebels Lands in proportion to the summs they laid out, and in pursuance of an Act of our *English* Parliament, which then passed to that effect. By which Act, it is ordered, that the mony so laid out, should be employed for the service of *Ireland*; and that, (after the Rebels were declared by both Houses to be wholly conquered) a commission should issue forth under the Great Seal of *England*, to make a strict inquiry through all the Counties of *Ireland*, of Estates forfeited by the Rebellion, to be disposed of for the satisfaction of the Adventurers.

Nei-

Neither of these conditions were hitherto observed; for the money laid out, was all, (or at least, for the greatest part) employed to buy arms and ammunition to fight against his Majesty in *England*. The Rebels were never yet declared by both Houses of Parliament to have been conquered, nor any Commission issued forth under the Great Seal of *England*, to enquire after Forfeitures: It is true, that the remaining Members of the House of Commons, made an Ordinance in the year 1652. (without the concurrence of the House of Lords) that the Rebels were wholly conquered; and consequently assigned ten Counties to the Adventurers, without issuing forth any Commission under the Great Seal of *England*, to examine whether the lands therein contained were forfeited or no. Of these ten Counties, the Adventurers of the doubling Ordinance (who were to have for their respective sums laid out, double the quantity of land assigned to the first Adventurers) have got a large proportion, because their money was given to the Long Parliament in the year 1644. when they were in actual Rebellion against his Majesty.

The late King understood very well the nullity of this Act having never made mention of the Adventurers interest in all the Treaties of Peace which passed between his Majesty and the confederats in *Ireland*; which certainly, so just a Prince as *Charles* the first was known to be, would never have done, if he had conceived himself any way obliged by that Act to provide for them. But supposing that the Act of *decimo septimo Caroli* in the behalf of the *London* Adventurers, had not been defective; can those of the doubling Ordinance expect any benefit by that Law? Can the first Adventurers, whose moneys were disposed to other uses than the

the relief of the Protestants in *Ireland*, pretend any advantage by that Act? nay, can those few persons of the first rank (whom we call the just Adventurers, and whose moneys were really employed in the *Irish War*) lawfully enjoy the *Irish Land*, until the Rebels be declared by the two Houses of Parliament to be wholly conquered; until a Commission issues forth under the Great Seal of *England* to examine who are Rebels, and who are Innocents; and until, after performing those essential formalities required by the Act, they receive by a just and legal way of proceeding, their respective proportions of the forfeited Estates?

The first Minister of State (a Lawyer by his first profession) cannot be ignorant of these verities; specially when he perswades his Royal Master to speak after this manner, in his Declaration for the Settlement of *Ireland*, pag. 7. *Therefore in the first place, in order to a settlement of that interest claimed by the Adventurers, although the present Estates and Possessions they enjoy, if they were examined by the strict letter of the Law, would prove very defective and invalid, as being no ways pursuant to those Acts of Parliament upon which they pretend to be founded, but rather seem to be a structure upon their subsequent assent, both to different mediums and ends, than the observance of those; yet we being alwayes more ready to consult, &c.* Can any thing be spoken more plain to prove the nullity of the Adventurers Title by the Act of 17. Car. ? and could the supream Judge of the Court of Equity give a more unjust sentence, than to say, Although this party can pretend no right to the Estate in question, yet I am pleased to adjudge it for him? The matter in dispute is no less than the land of ten Counties, the parties pretending are the *Irish* Pro.

Proprietors, and the *London Adventurers* : the first enjoyed it for so many ages, they have their Patents and Evidences to shew for it, and they lost it at length upon the account of Loyalty, fighting for the Kings Interest against the murderers of his Royal Father : the last (as 'tis acknowledged by the words of the Text) have no other title but what they derive from the Ordinance of an usurped Government, for having disbursed vast sums of money to countenance Rebellion, to pull down Monarchy, and put up a pretended Commonwealth. And yet the Land is adjudged for them, and confirmed to them and their heirs for ever.

The second main interest obstructing the restoration of the *Irish*, is that of *Cromwel's* Souldiers, who are not mentioned in the Act of 17 *Caroli*; neither indeed do they pretend any other Title to their Estates, but that of the Sword, which they have alwayes employed against the last King, and his present Majesty, enjoying as a Salary for their service, all the *Irish* Estates in twelve Counties. I do not think any man will be so impudent as to justify this prodigious Title; I am sure their greatest Patrons never durst say they were *just*, but they said very often, it was *convenient* to confirm them in possession of other mens Land. And perhaps we shall not find many other States-men (among the followers of the Gospel) who will allow of a *conveniency* so apparent against Justice : *ruat Cælum & fiat Justitia*, is a *motto* which better becomes a Lord Chancellour, then, let us not do what is just, but what is convenient.

It is indeed a most wonderful *conveniency* to dispossess the ancient Proprietour who fought for the King, and give his Estate to a Fanatique Souldier who fought for *Cromwel*.

To support this pretended Conveniency, the first Minister of State made use of a strong Argument, derived from the great power of the *Cromwellists* in Ireland; and thus he makes it out :

The *English* Army is very considerable now in Ireland, they have Swords in their hands, and they are in possession of all the great Towns, and strong holds in that Kingdom, it is not therefore safe to irritate them; Nay, there is an absolute Necessity (as the case stands) to confirm them in their present possessions; for we must not do what is just, but what is convenient. These words were often delivered in Counsel, as so many Oracles, and perhaps the great Statesman did not seriously reflect, whether the same argument might not serve as well to confirm all the *Cromwellists* in England, in their unlawful acquisitions of the Crown and Church-Lands, and so many Cavaliers Estates, whereof they were dispossessed upon his Majesties Restauration, without any great noise, and less danger; and yet they were then very considerable: they had Swords in their hands, and they were in possession of all the strong holds of the Kingdom, &c.

My Lord, I have been all over the Kingdom of Ireland, and assure your Lordship, that the old Inhabitants and Natives of Ireland, are ten for one, and far the more considerable party; but large summs have made that corrupt Minister say any thing that seemed advantagious to support that other Interest: I am confident, my Lord, admitting them as considerable as he would have them, it cannot be half so formidable, as the power of that party was in England when the King came in. These were all disbanded in less than 6 months time, and now
 'tis

'tis more than seven years, that a Fanatique Army is maintained in *Ireland* without any necessity, which, occasions that his Majesty receives no Revenue out of that vast and fertile Kingdom; Nay, he is obliged to send yearly a considerable sum of money out of *England*, for the maintenance of that Army: for my part I cannot understand how the King might safely reduce the *English* Army, and that it should be dangerous for him to disband the *Irish* Forces, who were not half so numerous, nor so much to be feared as those in *England*. If the want of money hindred their disbanding at once with their brethren in *England* and *Scotland*; might not they be reduced by degrees, and by Regiments, in eight years time? I think it is sufficiently evidenced that the *Cromwellian* Party in *Ireland* hath no more power than what his Majesty hitherto is pleased to grant them, by the advice of his first Minister, who upholds that Fanatique Army for his own sordid, if not wicked ends. Let that Favourite that perswades his Master to tolerate Injustice and Oppression; upon the account of a Servile Fear, have a care that he be not one day convinced either of malice or ignorance. *Rex est qui posuit metus, & dira mala pectoris, quem non ambitio popularis, & nunquam stabilis favor Vulgi precipitis movet.*

The third grand interest, and the most destructive to the Natives, is that of the Protestant Officers, who served his Majesty (or the Parliament) in *Ireland*, before the year 1649. whose arrears have been cast up, and stated, to the vast sum of eighteen hundred thousand pounds *sterl.* in satisfaction whereof, the best part of a whole Kingdom (which certainly is worth many millions) is conferred upon them. They are entitled to all the Natives estates in four great Counties, to all the Ci-

ties, Corporations, and walled Towns of *Ireland*, to all the Land situated within a mile to the Sea, and to the River of *Shanon* in the Province of *Conaught*, and County of *Clare*, to all the Debts, Leases, Mortgages, and Reversions of the *Irish*; for not only the real estates, but also all other pretensions and titles of the unhappy Natives are forfeited: and lest all this should come short to content this insatiable Party, the last Act allows them one hundred thousand pounds out of the two half years rent from Adventurers, Souldiers, and restored *Irish*. Though the *Roman* Catholick Officers have alwayes faithfully adhered to the Kings Interest, and never deserted his service (as all, or most of these Protestant Officers in *Ireland* have done, when the Usurper prevailed) yet their being Papists disables them from any satisfaction for their service, which was a qualification not imposed on the Catholicks in *England*, &c. But since the Cessation of Arms concluded in the year 1643, there was no more fighting between his Majesties Protestants, and *Roman* Catholick Subjects, which makes a great difference between their Loyalty in point of merit, and that of our Cavaliers in *England*, who, out of a generous resolution, without any necessity, or consideration of private interest, did freely embrace his Majesties quarrel, siding alwaies with the best, although weakest party, which they maintained, for the space of six years, at their own charges, with the loss of so many thousand brave lives, who were all sacrificed as unspotted Victims on the altar of Loyalty. How comes it then to pass, that a handful of *Irish* Protestants should be allowed 1800000 *l.* for two years service, and that our *English* Royallists, who are a hundred times more numerous, continued thrice longer in serving the King, and

and whose pure Loyalty was never tainted with the mixture of any treachery, or private interest, should get amongst them all, without distinction of Nation or Religion, but 70000 *l.* to be distributed among the needy Cavaliers, (who had neither Estates of their own, nor any Publick charges or employments) to keep them from starving ? Upon what account should the Officers of four or five Garrisons in *Ireland*, that plundred ten times more than their pay came to, enjoy four large Counties, and all the great Towns and Corporations of a Kingdom, whilst the whole body of the Royalists in *England* are so much slighted, that there is not one Parish in the Country, nor one street in any City, conferred upon them ? Will not the *Irish* 49 men allow us, that Prince *Rupert*, the Duke of *Newcastle*, *Montrose*, *Bristol*, *Barkley*, *Middleton*, *Rocheſter*, *Gerard*, and several other Noblemen of *England* and *Scotland*, deserve to have their arrears stated and satisfied; as well as the Grandees of *Ireland* ? Is there any conveniency, (for I am sure there can be no Justice) to provide for the one and not for the other ? It cannot be said that his Majesty is obliged by the Act of 17. *Car.* by his Declaration from *Breda*, or any other Covenant, to recompence in so large a manner, the mercenary service of his Protestant Officers in *Ireland*, without any regard to be had for the innumerable Sufferings, and present want of so many Indigent Cavaliers in *England*, who have not bread to eat, nor a house to lye in, and scarce a rag to cover their Nakedness.

To give some colour to this apparent partiality, the first Minister of State is forced to betake him self to his last refuge, telling, as for a final reason, That the Protestant English interest cannot be maintained in *Ireland*,
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without extirpating the Natives. And therefore, that the Counties and Corporations undisposed of by the Commonwealth, must not be restored to the Natives upon any account. The preservation of this Interest is now become *ultima ratio*, and the *non plus ultra* to all political debates; and seeing the Learned Gownman will needs establish it for a first principle, not to be denied, it is not amiss to consider more attentively this Idol, that occasions so much impiety. As for the Protestant Interest, I must confess, his Majesty is bound to maintain it in all his Kingdoms and Dominions, as far forth as the Glory of God requires, and the Law of Nations, and the several constitutions of particular places will admit. Certainly, no man (though never so zealous) will say, that his Majesty was obliged, when he held the Town of *Dunkirk* in *Flanders*, to extirpate the ancient Inhabitants, and place new *English* Colonies in their Room, for the preservation of a Protestant Interest. True Religion was ever yet planted by preaching and good example, not by violence and oppression: an unjust intrusion into the neighbours estate, is not the right way to convert the ancient proprietours, who will hardly be induced to embrace a Religion, whose Professours have done them so much injustice: and as to the present Settlement of *Ireland*, it is apparent to the world, that the confiscation of Estates, and not the conversion of Souls, is the only thing aimed at. If by the *English* Interest we understand the present Possession of the *London* Adventurers, and of *Cromwell's* Souldiers, there is no doubt it is inconsistent with the restoration of the *Irish*; neither can the new *English* Title to Land be well maintained, without destroying the old Title of the Natives; even as the interest of the late Commonwealth

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was incompatible with Monarchie, and *Cromwells* Protectorship was inconsistent with the Kings Government. But, if by the *English* Interest we understand (as we ought to do) the interest of the Crown and Cavaliers of *England*, I see no reason why it might not be preserved in *Ireland* for 500 years to come) as well as it was preserved there for 500 years past, without extirpating the Natives. Why could not the *English* Interest be maintained in *Ireland*, without extirpation; as well as the *Spanish* interest is preserved in *Naples* and *Flanders*; the *French* interest in *Rosilignion* and *Alsace*; the *Swedish* interest in *Breme* and *Pomerland*; the *Danish* interest in *Norway*; the *Austrian* interest in *Hungary*; the *Venesian* interest in *Dalmatia*; and the *Ottoman* interest over all *Greece*; and so many other Christian Provinces, without dispossessing the ancient Inhabitants of their Patrimonies and Birth-right? Forts, Cittadels, Armies, and Garrisons, Punishment and reward, were hitherto held the only lawful means for Christian Princes to maintain their Authority, and secure their Interest: such an extirpation was never yet practised by any Prince that followed the law of the Gospel.

But, supposing that the preservation of an *English* interest were so sacred a thing, that it may be held lawful in that regard to extirpate the old inhabitants of *Ireland*, who have received from the hand of God that portion of Earth for their inheritance, upon what colour of Title can our rigid Statesman design the extirpation of so many Families in *Ireland*, of the *English* race and extraction, lineally descended from the best Families in *England*, and those ancient *English* Colonies who first brought over that interest into *Ireland*, and maintained it there for so many ages? If this *Cannibal*

English interest, gives no better quarter to the children of *English* in *Ireland*, what can strangers expect? Nay, what assurance can be had for the posterity of those very Adventurers and Souldiers, that after an age or two they shall not be likewise devoured, or displaced to make room for a new swarm of English Planters, upon the account of securing a new English interest: and those new Colonies also within an age after, shall be extirpated upon the same score; for, the children of those who were planted in *Ireland*, about the beginning of King *James* his Reign, are now destroyed, for the better security of an English interest, as well as the posterity of the first *English*, who invaded that Country in the dayes of King *Henry* the second; so that to the Worlds end, if we follow this Rule, we shall never be able to secure the *English* interest in the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

The Grantees are the fourth and last in order, that obstruct the restoration of the *Irish* Natives: Their Title is soon examined, being only founded on the Kings free Grant; for it cannot be said that his Majesty was bound by any former obligation, or pretended conveniency, to conferr on his Courtiers and Favourites the Land of other people. Can there be any conveniency (not to speak of Justice) that the Kings only Brother, and heir apparent to three Crowns, should enjoy so many thousands a year in *Ireland*, of poor Gentlemens estates, whereof some had the honour to serve under his command in foreign Countries? And is it fit to expose his Royal Highness and his Princely posterity to the many inconveniencies, and heavy Judgments which commonly follow illegal and unjust acquisitions? It is a remarkable passage, that *Miles Corbet* and other

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Regicides, who went over into *Ireland*, got a large proportion of *Irish* land, for no other service, but the execrable Sentence of Death which they gave against our late Sovereign, and that the Duke of York should now enjoy all that Land, by no other Title but that of the Regicides. The Land was given them by a Tyrant, for murdering the King, let the world judge of the goodness of their Title; certainly whosoever comes to inherit them, can have no better. I shall make no mention here of so many Courtiers of a lesser sphere, who have got vast estates in *Ireland*, by his Majesties free gift, and whom the first Ministers of State have purposely interested in that Kingdom, to engage them against the Natives; whereby the restoration of the *Irish* is rendred impossible, and the satisfaction of Adventurers and Souldiers already dispossed by the decrees of the last Court of Claims, is much obstructed, so many fresh grants exhausting the stock of reprisals.

My Lord, I have hitherto set down in brief the hard usage extended to the *Irish* since his Majesties re-establishment, and examined the Title of the several interests obstructing their restoration. Now it remains to say somewhat of the undoubted right, and indisputable claim of the Natives, to those Estates which by *Cromwells* Decree, and his Majesties confirmation, are kept from them.

I will not take upon me to justify their first rising, (although I have seen a Treatise in Latin proving the lawfulness, or rather the necessity, of that war on their side, having begun it in their own defence, to prevent the general ruin and destruction designed against the Kingdom and themselves, by the Presbyterian party

both in *England* and *Scotland*) I shall not excuse any Subjects presuming to take Arms, upon any account or pretence whatsoever, without the Authority of their Prince; I will only say, that by their Insurrection (how bloody and barbarous soever some are pleased to print and paint it) four hundred *English* could not be found murdered in *Ireland*, as appeareth by the Proceedings (and Records yet extant in *Dublin*) of the usurped Power's severe enquiry, and their Court of Justice, that for want of men did hang women, not only without legal proof, but without any probability that they could or would be guilty of killing Soldiers, or innocent *English*. The *Irish* insurrection, I say, hath not been accompanied with that insolence and malice in the beginning, nor with those sad and dismal effects in the end, which other Rebellions have been guilty of, and some Pamphlets have charged the *Irish* with. They were scarce 22 months in Arms, when they yielded to a cessation, upon the first notice given of his Majesties pleasure, although they had then the upper hand of their Enemies; and it was known the Protestant party could not be well preserved without it. This cessation was enlarged from time to time, until a final peace was solemnly concluded in the City of *Kilkenny*, in the year of our Lord 1648. by, and between the Lord Duke of *Ormond*, his Majesties Commissioner, in the behalf of his Majesty; and the General Assembly of the Confederate Catholicks of *Ireland*, in the behalf of the said Confederate Catholicks. This peace was no sooner published, than all the Garrisons, Forts, Citadels, Strong holds, and Magazines of the *Irish*, were put under the Command of the Kings Lieutenant; all the Nobility, Gentry, and Ma-
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gistrates, both in Cities and Country submitted to his Government. And though the *English* Rebels have been ever since very successful in all their attempts, yet the *Irish*, notwithstanding they were offered any conditions by the Usurper, held out, with an undaunted Courage, until the last Town, and the last Fortress was lost, and until they received express Orders from his Majesty to yield to the times, and to make the best conditions they could for their own preservation. It is remarkable, that this peace was concluded in a time, when the *Irish* Nation was in a most flourishing condition, having Armies in the field, and most of the Cities and great Towns in their possessions, and more than three parts of the Kingdom under their command, when they were courted by the Parliament of *England*, and solicited by some neighbouring Potentates, and when by espousing his Majesties quarrel, (who was then destitute of all humane support) they were to draw on their Country all the united Force and Power of the Victorious Rebels in *England* and *Scotland*, and consequently expose themselves and their Posterity to the danger of an unavoidable ruine and destruction.

I know their Adversaries have practised all the artifice that Malice could invent, to perswade the world, that his Majesty is no way obliged to make good that peace which was concluded by the Authority of his Royal Father. and solemnly confirmed by himself. Those Articles, they say, were forced from his Majesty by the *Irish* Confederates, who ought to loose the benefit of all his Majesties gracious concessions, having banished the Lord Duke of *Ormond*, his Majesties Lieutenant, out of *Ireland*. It is easily proved

ved, that the King was forced to take the Solemn League and Covenant, when he was environed by the Presbyterian Army in *Scotland*: but I do not understand how it can be made out, that the Confederates of *Ireland* were able to extort that peace from his Majesty, who was then in *France*. It will seem very ridiculous to say, that the Lord Marquess of *Antrim*, and the Lord *Muskry* (employed by the Confederate Catholicks, to solicit, in a most humble manner, for those articles which only contain a pardon for the past, and the liberty of free-born Subjects for the future) should come to *Paris* with a train sufficient to force a Sovereign Prince, lodged in the *Louvre*, who was Cousin German to his most Christian Majesty. The other Assertion, that the Lord Duke of *Ormond* was banished out of *Ireland* by the Confederates, is very false; His Lordship being driven out of the Provinces of *Limster* and *Munster*, by the power of *Cromwel's* Army, and forced to retire to the Province of *Connaught*, from whence he took shipping for *France*, to inform the Queens Majesty of the sad condition of that Kingdom, and to implore some succour from abroad, which (if timely obtained) might probably give a stop to *Cromwells* conquest, and render him unable to bring his victorious forces out of *Ireland*, and defeat his Majesty at *Worcester*, His Lordship having appointed the Lord Marquess of *Clanricard* to Command in his absence, as the Kings Deputy, (to whom the Nation shewed all due obedience and submission) is a manifest argument that his Lordship was not banished out of the Kingdom by the Confederate Catholicks; for whom he named, a Commander in his own absence: neither can it reflect
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upon the generality of the Nation, what was decreed by some Prelats convened in *Jamestown*, whose unreasonable zeal was soon after condemned, and protested against by a general assembly held in *Loghbreagh*, of the Clergy, Nobility, and Gentry of the whole Kingdom: and the advantageous proposals then made by *Cromwel's* Agents, were generously rejected by that Assembly, the Nation having unanimously resolved to rise or fall with the Kings interest. But what need we any other evidence to prove that the *Irish* did not generally violate the articles of that peace, then his Majesties own words, in the Preamble of his Declaration for the Settlement of Ireland. *And therefore we could not but hold our self obliged to perform what we owe by that peace to those who had honestly and faithfully performed what they had promised to us, &c.*

The *Irish* being at the last over powered at home, though they lost their Country, they did not fail in their Loyalty, most of their young Nobility and Gentry having followed his Majesty into foreign Countries, and resorted from all parts to side with those Princes who favoured his interest; when the King was in *France*, they quitted the *Spanish* service, and when he came to *Flanders*, they abandoned the *French* service, and flocked in great numbers about his Royal Person, having made up in short time, a handsome body of an Army, which rendered his Majesty considerable to his Friends abroad, and dreadful to his Enemies at home. These are virtues that none dares impugn, seeing the King himself is most graciously pleased to own them in his Declaration. *And in the first place, we did, and must alwaies remember the great affection a considerable part of that Nation expressed to us during the time of our being beyond the seas,*

*When with all cheerfulness and obedience they received and submitted to our Orders, and betook themselves to that service which we directed, as most convenient and be-
hooveful at that time to us, though attended with incon-
venience enough to themselves: which demeanour of
theirs, cannot but be thought very worthy of our Protection,
Justice, and Favour.*

My Lord, Is it not a sad case that the Irish Nation who sacrificed their lives, their estates and fortunes, and all the interest they had in their Country for the Kings service, who followed his Majesty abroad, and stuck to him in his banishment, when he was abandoned almost by all the rest of his Subjects in the three Kingdoms, should now be in a far worse condition, than they were reduced unto, during the Usurper's Reign? For then their estates were kept from them by violence, and the unresistable power of Cromwell's Army, but now they seem to be legally adjudged against them by two Acts of Parliament. They were then in hopes that God would one day re-establish his Sacred Majesty in a peaceable and entire possession of his Crown and Kingdoms, and consequently restore to them their ancient Patrimonies, which they lost upon the account of his interest: but now, they behold his Majesty seated in the glorious Throne of his Ancestors, and themselves out of all hope of ever enjoying their estates, which are conferred on their (and his Majesties) enemies, by a final sentence pronounced against them; and (which surpasseth all the misery that can be imagined) they are eternally condemned by a Messiah, in whom they hoped for redemption, and for whose sake they sacrificed their lives, lost their fortunes, quitted their Country, and forsook all that was dear to them in this World: and
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this done by the corruption and covetousness of two or three persons, whereof one was the first Minister.

The extraordinary merit of this Nation in his Majesties service, was fresh in his Majesties memory when he spake after this manner to the House of Peers, on the 27 July 1660. touching the Act of Indempnity; *I hope, I need say nothing of Ireland, and that they alone shall not be without the benefit of my Mercy: they have shewed much affection to me abroad, and you will have a care of my honour, and what I have promised to them.*

My Lord, To pass by Honour and Gratitude, (which some Statesmen little value) how shall we excuse the Injustice of these proceedings? Suppose the peace concluded in the year 1648. was invalid, and that his Majesty received no service abroad from any of the Irish Nation, can he in Justice condemn 7000 Innocents, (before they are heard) inoffensive persons, who never offended his Royal Father, nor himself: let us suppose farther, that an innocent person could not be found in all Ireland, that every individual of that Nation were an obstinate Rebel from the beginning, and that none of them ever deserved the least favour from his Majesty in point of Conscience, Honour, or Gratitude, can our prime Minister and his adherents say, that so many thousand Widows and Orphans (though never so criminal) are not fit objects of his Majesties Compassion and Clemency?

That Kings are the Anointed of the Lord, and his Lieutenants on Earth, is an infallible truth received among Christians; and as they derive their power immediately from God, so they ought to imitate him in their actions. But of all the Divine Attributes, his Mercy,

as it is above all the rest of his Works; *Misericordia ejus supra omnia opera ejus*, so is it that alone which Princes are most concerned to follow. It is by this heavenly Virtue, that good Kings have been always distinguished from Tyrants, and that they appeared to their Subjects as the very Images of Divinity. I do not think that the *English* Crown was ever worn by a Prince more Benign and Merciful than *Charles* the Second, I am confident, there is no King now living on Earth, who hath given a larger testimony of his natural propensity and inclination that way. How great then must be the guilt of those Ministers of State that cunningly obstructed the effects of the bounty and clemency of so good and gracious a Prince towards an innocent People; and perhaps not the least deserving of his Subjects? Their gettings by the Bills of Settlement spoiles their plea, and pretence for the promotion of protestancy. It will seem a Paradox to posterity, that the *Irish* Nation, which in all insurrections hath been pardoned, and preserved by the Royal Bounty of Kings, meerly *English* should now be condemned to an eternal extirpation by a King of old *Irish* extraction (lineally descended from *Fergusus* a Prince of the Royal blood of Ireland) who of all the Kings that ever reigned in *England*, was most obliged to the *Irish* Nation, and that during the Reign of *Charles* the Second, (the most merciful Prince that ever wore a Crown) so many thousand innocents should be exempted from a hearing, and others from a General Pardon, which by a mercy wholly extraordinary, doth extend to some of the very Regicides.

These are verities not to be doubted of in our dayes, which after ages will hardly admit, seeing the
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like was never before recorded in Annals, or mentioned in any History : for, since the Creation of *Adam* to this day (and perhaps our posterity to the Worlds end, may be as far to seek) we cannot produce another example of the like measure extended to a Christian people, under the Government of a most Christian Prince. The most bloody Tyrants of former ages, even those Monsters of Nature, who seemed to be born for no other end, than the desolation of Mankind, did never extirpate their old Friends, to make room for their reconciled Enemies : so that it must be a very difficult matter to perswade those who are not eye-witnesses of the Fact, that the Royal authority of our Gracious King, which here in *England* maintains the Peer in his Splendour and Dignity, the Commoner in his Birth-right and Liberty, which protects the Weak from the oppression of the Mighty, secures the Nobility from the insolence of the People, and by which Equal and Impartial Justice is indifferently distributed to all the Inhabitants of this Great and Flourishing Realm; should be at the same time made use of in his Kingdom of *Ireland*, to condemn Innocents before they are heard, to destroy so many thousand Widows and Orphans, to confirm unlawful and usurped Possessions, to violate the Publick Faith, to punish Virtue, to countenance Vice, to hold Loyalty a Crime, and Treason worthy of Reward. The bloody and covetous States-man who chiefly occasioned all this disorder, was very often heard to say, with a fierce countenance, and passionate tone, the *Irish* deserve to be extirpated, and then he would (after his usual manner) come out with a great Oath, and swear, they shall be all extirpated, root and branch. Good God,

what a Heathen expression is this in the mouth of a Christian, who is expressly commanded to love his Enemies ? Does he think that the Divine Providence, which orders the growth of Herbs, the fall of Leaves, and appoints an Angel for the guard of every individual person, takes no care to preserve an entire body of a Nation ? and that it shall be in the power of one man to destroy the work of God at his pleasure ; of such a man that could not prevent his own disgrace, nor avoid the many other inconveniencies which are like to fall upon him ?

This proud *Haman*, who, jointly with some few others, to get money for themselves, and estates for their children) contrived the general extirpation of the whole *Irish* race, but before he could fully compass his wicked Design (I must confess he went very near to do it, and if God had given him a longer continuance of power, he would undoubtedly make good his word) was forced, for his own safety, and the preservation of his life, to quit his fine House, forsake his Family, and bid his Country farewell, and to travel in his old age, in the dead of Winter, through so many dangers at Sea, and incommodities by Land, to seek for some shelter abroad, seeing he could not be secure at home. *Iustus es, Domine, & iustum iudicium tuum.* He is gone with all his Greatness, and the miseries of the poor *Irish* do still continue; however they are yet in being, and live in hope that the fall of their mortal Enemy may be a beginning of their Rise, and that his Majesty will now seriously reflect upon the unparallel'd usage hitherto extended to that Nation, who are deprived of the benefit of Law, Justice, and Publick Faith : the cries and tears of more than a hundred thousand Widows

dows and Orphans, being worthy his Majesties Princely consideration. And certainly, there can be no great difficulty met with to disannul two illegal Acts, which are evidently repugnant, not only to the Law of God and Nature, contrary to common reason, (and consequently void in themselves) but also to all sound Policy and reason of State; for that the true interest of *England* (as relating to *Ireland*) consists in raising the *Irish* as a Bulwark, or balance, against our *English* and *Scotch* Presbyterians. The *Irish* Papists agreed so well, and lived so peaceably with our *English* Prelatiques, during all the Reign of King *James*, and seventeen years of King *Charles* the first, that they seemed to be of one mind in all matters: and when the Presbyterian practices and Covenant began to disturb these Kingdoms, the Papists and Prelatiques in *Ireland* (as well as in *England*) joyned their hearts and hands against Presbtery for the King. The great Earl of *Strafford* judged it was a true Protestant Cavalier interest, to raise an Army of Papists in *Ireland*, thereby to keep in awe the Presbyterians of *Scotland* and *England*: and indeed the Presbyterian designs could never have had been compassed, if the King had not been forced to disband the same Army. Then the Earl (now Duke of *Ormond*) thought it was the true *English* and Cavalier Interest, to joyn in Parliament with the *Roman* Catholick Nobility and Gentry of *Ireland*, against the Presbyterian Lords Justices and their Faction; and therefore jointly with them, resolved to secure their persons, and seize upon the Castle and Magazin of *Dublin*, for his Majesty; but this their design was quashed by an inconsiderate attempt of some Northern Gentlemen, which occasioned the late Rebellion, and en-

couraged the Presbyterian Lords Justices to force the Kings Loyal Subjects into desperate courses: but no sooner were the Presbyterian Lords Justices deposed, and imprisoned by the Kings commands, but the Roman Catholicks returned to their duty, first by a cessation, next by a submissive peace, delivering the whole Kingdom unto the Duke of *Ormond*, and joyning with the Cavalier Party against the Kings Enemies, and so continued until both were over powered by *Cromwel*.

Another reason why understanding men judge the *Irish* ought to be preserved, and their interest preferred before that of *Cromwells* Creatures, is, that the *English* of *Ireland* are not able to defend themselves against the *Scots* in that Country; if the *Irish* be Neuters. The *Scots* are a people so numerous, so needy, and so near unto *Ireland*, so cunning, close, and confederated in a common Interest, that some of our States-men apprehend, they may soon possess themselves of that whole Island, they being at this present, not only Masters of *Vlster*, but spread over the other Provinces, and very well armed. Now, if despair should dictate to the destroyed *Irish*, that it is their conveniency to joyn with the *Scots* against the *English* that possess their Estates, without question the *English* Interest will be lost in *Ireland*. It is better therefore that the *Irish* Nation be gained by restoring them to their own (such only excepted as had a hand in murdering *English*) than that a few Presbyterian and Phana-tique upstarts be made great by other mens Estates, and the whole Kingdom indangered to be wrested out of our hands, and separated from the Crown of *England*.

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You see, my Lord, that there seems to be as little conveniency as conscience in my Lord *Clarendon's*, and his covetous partners settlement of *Ireland*; yet I must confess this domestick affair agreeth well with his Policy in foreign Negotiations. Until his time the Statesmen of *Europe* (particularly the *English*) made it their business to keep the scales equal between *France* and *Spain*, least either of those two Potentates might aspire unto an Universal Monarchy; But the Earl of *Clarendon* made it his business to utterly destroy *Spain*, and exalt the *French* King to such a height of power, that in a short time he might be Master of the *Netherlands*, and find no opposition in his way into *England*; and indeed had not our Kings conduct and courage been extraordinary, in closing up a new Defensive League so seasonably, and in concluding a Peace between *Spain* and *Portugal*, no part of *Europe* that is worth the Coveting, could be free from the *French* command. I hope, that as God hath inspired his Majesty to prevent by this League and Peace, the danger which corrupt Ministers drew upon us, so he will move him to establish a lasting Peace in his Dominions, by a just repeal of the *Irish* Act of Settlement; and thereby quash all the designs against *England*, that *France*, or any Foreigner may endeavour to ground upon the discontents of a destroyed, and desperate people.

Now, my Lord, that you have had this account of the transactions in *Ireland* since his Majesties Restoration, it were an act worthy your Lordship (being a Leading Member in the House of Peers in *England*, and much relied upon in the House of Commons) to make it your request to his Majesty, that the business of *Ireland* may receive one Publick hearing,

ing, and all patties concerned appear by their Agents, which if your Lordship prevail to get done, if the Settlement, as it is now established, be deemed just, will be happy for the Possessours, and take away all the Calumnies that the *Irish* do over all the world cast on the Managers of that Settlement; but if it appear not to be a just Settlement, then Justice in so high a degree will become the King, and his Highest Court, and will evidence the truth or *nullitie* of what hath been here offered to your Lordship, by,

My Lord,

Your Lordships most Faithful

and most Humble Servant

F. N.

FINIS.

